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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 COR-01 CIAE-00 C-01 DODE-00 EUR-01 INRE-00
INR-01 ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 PM-02 P-01 SP-00
SS-00 /008W

-----72172F 241012Z /22/61

R 201444Z OCT 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2055
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04322

LIMDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - P A R A 7.
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: INTERNAL DEBATE ON ARUSHA PROCESS

REFS: A) KIGALI 4298 B) KIGALI 4258

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

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SUMMARY

2. THE MRND SPURNED INVITATION FROM THE OTHER FOUR
PARTIES IN THE GOVERNMENT FOR A MEETING TO DISCUSS
MEETING WITH THE RPF. THE FOUR PARTIES THREATENED TO
GO IT ALONE STARTING OCTOBER 21. WE BELIEVE WE HAVE
SUCCEEDED IN DEFERRING A REPEAT OF THE MAY/JUNE
BRUSSELS MEETING; THE PARTIES WILL STAY IN KIGALI
FOR A 16 PARTY MEETING CALLED BY THE PRESIDENT
OCTOBER 22. THE PARTIES SEEM CLOSE ON A COMPROMISE
FOR A NEW, ENLARGED, TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT.
INTERNAL SECURITY REMAINS A PREOCCUPATION OF THE
OPPOSITION PARTIES WHO CLAIM AT LEAST THREE POLITICAL
ASSASSINATIONS AGAINST THEIR ADHERENTS LAST WEEKEND.
A HABYARIMANA-KANYARWENGWE MEETING MAY BE IN THE

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WORKS. END SUMMARY.

THE PARTIES ACT AGAIN

3. THE OPPOSITION PARTIES INVITED THE MRND TO A MEETING TO PREPARE FOR A BROADER MEETING WITH THE RPF (REF B). IN RESPONSE, THE PARTIES RECEIVED A LETTER FROM THE SECOND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE MRND STATING THAT THE MRND WOULD MEET WITH THE RPF ONLY IN KIGALI AND ONLY WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL 16 POLITICAL PARTIES. THIS DID NOT RESPOND TO THE OPPOSITION PARTIES' INVITATION TO A MEETING TO DISCUSS THE PROPOSED MEETING, BUT IT DID GENERATE ANOTHER LETTER FROM THE PARTIES TO THE PRESIDENT AND TO THE PRIME MINISTER INDICATING THAT IN LIGHT OF THE MRND'S SNUB AND REFUSAL TO PLAY, THE PARTIES WOULD GO OFF TO
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BRUSSELS TO MEET WITH THE RPF WITHOUT THE MRND. THE MEETING WAS TO BEGIN OCTOBER 21.
4. THE NEW PARTY LETTERS WERE PREEMPTIVE IN TONE AND CLEARLY CONFRONTATIONAL. OF SPECIAL INTEREST IS THE FACT THAT THEY ARE SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE PDC AS WELL AS THE OTHER THREE PARTIES. WITH PDC SWINGING TO THE OPPOSITION, THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY BECOMES A MINORITY IN THE CABINET (NINE PORTFOLIOS IN A CABINET OF 20 MEMBERS).

THE PRESIDENT REACTS

5. THE PRESIDENT IS MEETING TODAY, OCTOBER 20, WITH THE PRIME MINISTER IN AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE MISUNDERSTANDINGS OVER THE ARUSHA PROCESS (REF A). IN ADDITION HE HAS INVITED ALL OF THE PARTIES TO A MEETING ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22, TO TRY TO SELL A CONSENSUS ON THE ARUSHA TALKS.

6. ENOCH RUHIGIRA IS NOW ENGAGED TO UNDERTAKE INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS WITH ALL THE PARTIES BEFORE THE OCTOBER 22 MEETING, FULLY UNDERSTANDING THAT A FORMAT OF 16 PARTIES REQUIRES ADVANCE PREPARATION.

WHO'S ON FIRST?

7. THE PRESIDENT AND THE PARTIES ARE PLAYING A DANGEROUS GAME OF CHICKEN. THE PARTIES SUMMONED THE PRESIDENT TO A MEETING LAST WEEK WHICH HE REFUSED TO ATTEND. NOW THE PRESIDENT HAS SUMMONED THE PARTIES

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TO A MEETING ONE DAY AFTER THEY SAID THEY WOULD BE IN
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BRUSSELS TO BEGIN MEETING WITH THE RPF. THE PARTIES
BLINKED, AT LEAST ONE EYE, BY NOT GETTING ON THE
SABENA FLIGHT TO BRUSSELS LAST NIGHT, OCTOBER 18.
THEY COULD STILL GET TO BRUSSELS BY WAY OF PARIS BY
LEAVING TONIGHT, BUT THE LATEST WORD FROM MUGENZI AND
TWAGIRAMUNGU IS THAT THEY WILL STAY AROUND FOR THE
INFORMAL MEETINGS WITH RUHIGIRA AND FOR THE MORE
FORMAL MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT ON THURSDAY.

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	SS-00	/008W					

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R 201444Z OCT 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2056
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 04322

LIMDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - T E X T

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

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THE ISSUES

8. THE MEETING WITH THE RPF HAS TAKEN ON IMPORTANCE
BECAUSE IT IS THERE THAT THE PARTIES WOULD BEGIN TO
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DIVIDE UP THE PORTFOLIOS IN A NEW TRANSITION
GOVERNMENT. MDR PRESIDENT TWAGIRAMUNGU ADMITTED TO
ME YESTERDAY THAT THIS CANNOT BE DONE WITHOUT THE
PARTICIPATION OF THE MRND.

9. TWAGIRAMUNGU BELIEVES THAT THE MRND HAS REACHED
THE POINT WHERE THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO YIELD THREE
PORTFOLIOS FROM THE MRND LIST TO THE RPF. IF THIS IS
SO, IT PUTS THE PDC IN AN EVEN MORE IMPORTANT
POSITION THAN THEY HAVE PUT THEMSELVES IN BY SIGNING
THE OPPOSITION LETTERS THIS WEEK. THE CABINET
COMPOSITION WOULD THEN BE MRND 6, MDR 4, THREE EACH
FOR PSD, PL AND RPF, WITH THE 20TH POSITION HELD BY
THE PDC. THUS THE MRND WOULD HAVE A MORE THAN
ONE-THIRD BLOCKING VOTE IF THE PDC VOTED WITH IT, AND
THE OPPOSITION AND RPF WOULD HAVE THE TWO-THIRDS
NECESSARY IF THE PDC VOTED WITH THEM. TWAGIRAMUNGU
IMPLIED THAT THIS FORMULA WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO
HIM. MUGENZI TOLD ME, HOWEVER, THAT HE WOULD FIGHT
TO REDUCE THE MRND EVEN FURTHER.

10. THE PRESIDENT DID NOT TELL ME ON FRIDAY THAT HE
ACCEPTED THIS ARRANGEMENT. HE DID TELL ME THAT HE
WOULD NOT ACCEPT THE PREVIOUS FORMULA IN WHICH THE
MRND WOULD YIELD 4 SEATS TO THE RPF. THE REASONS ARE
OBVIOUS. BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR THAT ANYONE IS PREPARED
TO GIVE THE PDC THE SWING VOTE ON THE KEY ISSUES IN
THIS CABINET. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE SWING VOTE
IS TO BE GIVEN TO ANYONE, THE PDC IS IN THE BEST
POSITION TO HAVE IT. THEY HAVE JOINED WITH THE MRND
IN A PREVIOUS TRANSITION GOVERNMENT, THEY HAVE JOINED

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WITH THE OPPOSITION ON AT LEAST TWO PREVIOUS
OCCASIONS, AND THEY HAVE AGAIN SHOWN THEIR
INDEPENDENCE FROM THE MRND IN SIGNING THE LETTERS
CONCERNING THE MEETINGS WITH THE RPF.

11. IF A FORMULA AS OUTLINED ABOVE IS FEASIBLE, ONE
CAN EXPECT AT LEAST A COUPLE OF WEEKS OF HAGGLING
OVER WHO GETS WHICH PORTFOLIOS AND WHICH INDIVIDUALS
WILL BE APPOINTED TO THE POSITIONS.

INTERNAL SECURITY

12. INTERNAL SECURITY REMAINS A PREOCCUPATION OF ALL
OF THE PARTIES. THE PRESS TODAY REPORTS POLITICAL

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ASSASSINATIONS OF A PL REPRESENTATIVE IN KANOMBE (NEAR THE AIRPORT) AND AN MDR "MILITANT" ON THE OTHER SIDE OF KIGALI. BOTH WERE CONFIRMED BY TWAGIRAMUNGU AND MUGENZI. YESTERDAY WE RECEIVED A COPY OF A REQUEST FOR AN INQUIRY ON THE MURDER OF A GENDARMERIE COMMANDANT IN KIBUYE, IN WHICH IT WAS NOTED THAT THE MDR IN KIBUYE HAD ACCUSED DIRECTOR OF THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET ENOCH RUHIGIRA OF POISONING THE COMMANDANT. IN A TRAGIC SEQUEL TO THIS, ENOCH'S YOUNGER BROTHER DIED ON OCTOBER 12, AND STREET RUMOR IMMEDIATELY ALLEGED THAT THE BROTHER HAD BEEN POISONED IN RETALIATION FOR ENOCH'S POISONING OF THE COMMANDANT. ENOCH SAYS HIS BROTHER HAD BEEN SICK FOR A COUPLE OF WEEKS.

13. WE CANNOT CONFIRM ANY OF THESE RUMORS OF POLITICALLY-INSPIRED VIOLENCE, BUT ARE WELL AWARE
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THAT MANY PEOPLE BELIEVE THEM, AND ARE ACTING ON THOSE BELIEFS.

14. I CONTINUE TO URGE ALL PARTIES TO SUSPEND THE OPERATIONS OF THEIR YOUTH GROUPS WHICH ARE AT THE CENTER OF MUCH OF THE VIOLENCE.

15. MUGENZI HAS PROPOSED TO THE PRIME MINISTER THAT THE FRENCH TAKE ON A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN INTERNAL SECURITY. HIS REASONING IS TWOFOLD: FIRST,

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INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	INRE-00	INR-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	PM-02	P-01	SP-00	SS-01
	SVC-00	/008W					

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R 201444Z OCT 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2057
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
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AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 04322

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SOMETHING MUST BE DONE TO REDUCE POLITICAL VIOLENCE, AND THE FRENCH HAVE ENOUGH MANPOWER HERE TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE; SECOND, IT WOULD MAKE THE RPF RESPECT THE FRENCH ROLE AND STOP INSISTING ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF FRENCH FORCES.

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HABYARIMANA TO MEET KANYARWENGWE?

16. MUGENZI TOLD ME THIS AFTERNOON THAT A BELGIAN LAWYER HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN PROMOTING A DIRECT MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA AND RPF CHARIMAN KANYARWENGWE. APPARENTLY HABYARIMANA HAS AGREED, AND THE PRIME MINISTER HAS BEEN INFORMED. THE DATE AND LOCATION OF THE MEETING IS UNKNOWN. MUGENZI DID NOT TREAT THIS AS THE FEARED CONSPIRACY OF THE RPF AND THE MRND. HE DID FEEL THAT THE PERSONAL ANIMOSITY BETWEEN THE TWO FORMER FRIENDS NEEDED TO BE RESOLVED IN SOME WAY BEFORE THE MORE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF HUTU-TUTSI AND RWANDAN REFUGEES CAN ACTUALLY BE RESOLVED. INTELLECTUALLY AT LEAST, THE TWO ISSUES CAN BE SEPARATED. MUGENZI IS A LITTLE NERVOUS ABOUT HAVING HABYARIMANA AND KANYARWENGWE MEET PRIVATELY, ALTHOUGH HE IS CONVINCED THAT KANYARWENGWE AT LEAST WILL HAVE SOMEBODY LISTENING WHETHER OVERTLY OR COVERTLY, SO MUGENZI WILL KNOW WHAT IS BEING SAID. IDEALLY MUGENZI WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE MEETING OF THE TWO OLD COLONELS TAKE PLACE IN ADVANCE OF A BROADER MEETING WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THE OPPOSITION PARTIES IN THE FIVE-PARTY MEETING (SIX IF YOU INCLUDE PDC) THAT MUGENZI AND TWAGIRAMUNGU HAVE BEEN SEEKING FOR SUCH A LONG PERIOD OF TIME.

COMMENT

17. I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE A SERIOUS MISTAKE FOR THE POLITICAL PARTIES TO GO TO BRUSSELS TO MEET AGAIN

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WITH THE RPF WITHOUT THE MRND PRESENT. AS SOON AS I
SAW THE LETTERS YESTERDAY I MADE THIS POSITION CLEAR
TO ALL PARTIES. I HAVE BEEN AT IT AGAIN TODAY WITH
MEETINGS WITH TWAGIRAMUNGU, MUGENZI, RUHIGIRA AND IN
COORDINATION WITH EUROPEAN AMBASSADORS. BY
MID-AFTERNOON OCTOBER 20, I AM CONVINCED THAT THE
PARTIES WILL REMAIN IN TOWN LONG ENOUGH TO MEET WITH
THE PRESIDENT OCTOBER 22. MUGENZI ADMITTED TO ME
THAT THE OCTOBER 17 LETTERS WERE PART BLUFF FROM THE
BEGINNING, BUT HE INSISTS THAT THE ORIGINAL PURPOSE
OF THE PARTY MEETING WITH THE RPF REMAINS VALID, AND
IT MUST BE RESCHEDULED, PERHAPS NEXT WEEK.

18. IT IS HARD TO IMAGINE THAT THE RPF COULD LOOK AT
A MEETING BETWEEN HABYARIMANA AND KANYARWENGWE WITH
ANYTHING LESS THAN FEAR AND SUSPICION. MUGENZI
ASSURES ME THAT THE RPF WILL MONITOR THE MEETING AND
WILL NOT LET KANYARWENGWE FREEWHEEL. BUT THE RISK OF
SUCH A MEETING IS TO SPLIT THE RPF IN SUCH A WAY THAT
THE AGREEMENTS THEY ARE IN THE PROCESS OF MAKING IN
ARUSHA WOULD BE REPUDIATED. INTERNALLY, THE PROBLEM
IS MORE REGIONAL THAN ETHNIC. SOUTHERNERS WILL BE
WILDLY SUSPICIOUS OF ANY ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN THE OLD
NORTHERN BUDDIES HABYARIMANA AND KANAYARWENGWE
DESIGNED TO PERPETUATE THE NORTHERN DOMINATION
CREATED BY THE COUP OF 1973. UNTRAINED AS WE ARE IN
CONSPIRACY THEORIES, IT IS HARD FOR AMERICANS TO
FIGURE OUT ALL OF THE POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS EMANATING
FROM A HABYARIMANA-KANYARWENGWE MEETING. IDEALLY IT
COULD BE AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD NATIONAL
RECONCILIATION. MOST RWANDANS WILL NOT SEE IT THAT
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WAY. END COMMENT.
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